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361 special rare ceremonial occasions, because of the poverty of the food supply.
 592 The prevalence of such large camps among the Tiwi supports our general
 [171] thesis that their native food supply was, for Australia, unusually plentiful, and
 that, in this sense, the Tiwi were a "rich" Australian tribe.

When camped together thus, the various households kept their distance, with the main fires and shelters of each separated by some twenty or thirty yards from the others, and during the day when everybody (except the old men) was out food collecting, the camps were almost deserted. When the food gatherers returned in twos and threes in the late afternoon, each household would cook and eat at its own fires as a unit, but if they wished, members of the smaller households, in which food returns for the day were probably smaller per capita than those of the bigger households, would "drop in during supper" upon the latter and supplement their own slender meal. Such hospitality was always extended on an individual basis; some member of the bigger household, usually a senior wife, would offer to one of the visitors a piece of meat or a dish of *kwokā* and if rebuked by her husband she would justify her act by mentioning her own kin relationship to the visitor, as if to stress that the kindness was her own individual gesture and did not commit the whole household to friendliness. Heads of large households were, however, generally very permissive if such handouts were made by senior females of their household to women or children of other households; it was handouts to adult male outsiders, especially young male outsiders, that were likely to provoke snarls or reprimands from the old man. This was in line with the general hostility of all old men to all young unmarried men that ran through all aspects of Tiwi culture.

After darkness fell, such a camp, with three or four households all resting within easy hearing distance of each other, became highly animated with men visiting from fire to fire as the women, who were not encouraged to walk about after dark, gossiped around their own fires. Little productive work could be done after dark, though a few cooking chores and food-preparation activities were performed, and most people went to sleep early unless the shouted conversations from fire to fire earlier in the evening had started an argument. If an argument did arise, the participants might go on abusing each other at long range for hours, with many of the listeners becoming involved and the rest remaining awake to enjoy the row.

Such rows were almost invariably outgrowths of the constant suspicion with which older men regarded younger men. This suspicion was in turn part of the price the Tiwi had to pay for the efficient type of food-production unit that they had evolved. This production unit, to reach maximum economic efficiency, required the vast majority of all females to be concentrated in the households of a very small number of husbands; namely, the very oldest men. As a necessary correlate, men under twenty-eight had no wives at all and very few men under forty had any wife except elderly and physically very unattractive widows. The efficient economic organization thus obviously created a moral and social problem—the problem of how to keep the unmarried young men away from the young women. The old head of the household had a double role:

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The Beginning of Tiwi Careers

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[621] The Malauila in 1928-29 consisted of forty-nine males and sixty females of all ages. The males were divided into the following age groups:

20 years and below	28
between 21 and 30	7
between 31 and 42	7
between 43 and 55	4
over 55	3
Total	49

- 561 Of the twenty-eight males aged 20 or below, none had a wife of any kind, and none of them expected or were expected to have one. This group comprised the male children—boys and youths—and such males were of no importance whatever in the Tiwi scheme of things. They lived in the households of older men and were ignored by the male elders.

[591] The next group, the seven men between 21 and 30, was the group of 561 young men whom the elders were just beginning to take seriously. The 584 younger of them were almost indistinguishable from the "youths," while the 884 older of them were beginning to be watched by the seniors with some interest. Of the seven, six were neither married to a wife of any sort nor promised a wife. One, called Banana by the whites, was a man of about 28 and married to an ancient crone who was childless by three previous husbands, but she was in the category of "disputed" wife since her young husband had only been able to acquire and hold her because of abnormal circumstances arising from the presence of white buffalo-hunters on Melville Island some years previously. Under pre-white conditions, none of the seven men under 30 would have had a wife of any kind.

561 The years between 30 and 40 were the crucial years for Tiwi men in 884 their establishment of households and careers. It was during this period that 557 men normally married their first ancient widows and the "likely to be successful" became sorted out from the less-likely. As they passed into their thirties, 582 men were allowed to enter for the first time into the influence game and, as the most junior players, they entered it by becoming subordinates and satellites of the bigger and more senior players, or by making alliances among themselves so as to pool their small individual assets.

159 In this age group in 1928-29, there were seven Malauila men ranging 554 in age from around 31 to 42. One (Tiberun) was still unmarried and 584 unpromised. He was thus (at age about 33) the oldest bachelor in the band. Not unnaturally he spent a good deal of time with other bands or at the Mission in the hope that his failure to get started in Malau might be remedied by elders of other bands or even by the priests. Tiberun was an older full brother of Banana, the 28-year-old married irregularly to a woman whom he had "stolen." A glance at their family tree revealed one potent reason why Tiberun

A VERY SUCCESSFUL ELDER: KI-IN-KUMI • 63

of that wealthy elder, we will first summarize, in Table I, the marital conditions of the eight young men we have been discussing.

TABLE I
THE MALAULA YOUNG MEN IN 1928-29

Name	Age	Resident Old Wives (Ex-widows)	Resident Young Wives (Bestowals)	Promised Wives (Under 14)	Own Children
Tiberun	33	0	0	0	0
Banana	28	1	0	0	0
Teapot	35	0*	0	0	1
Gitjara	33	2	0	2	1
L. F. B.	38	1	0	1	0
Summit	36	1	0	5	0
Padimo	36	1	2	3	0*
Boya	42	1	0	4	0

* Teapot's "noted" wife was dead.

* Padimo's first child, born in 1929, lived only a few days.

This table presents a summary of many of our earlier attempts at generalization. The only Malaula under the age of 43 who had a bestowed young wife old enough to live with him was Padimo, who was thus exceptionally lucky. Leaving out young Banana, five of the seven men between the ages of 30 and 42 had young females promised to them, but these were mostly babies or children who would not come into residence for several years. Six of the seven had married widows, mostly elderly widows, well in advance of the arrival of young wives and before any father had bestowed a daughter on them. Finally, and a point not made before, men of this age group rarely had any children of their own. The only entries in the last column of Table I are the irregularly born son of Teapot; Padimo's first daughter who died virtually at birth; and the 1-year-old son of Gitjara who was the last child born to his second ex-widow. Tiwi men rarely had young wives until they were around forty; they even more rarely had any children of their own before that age. Padimo's dead baby and Gitjara's 1-year-old son were exceptional; the zeros in the last column against the names of Boya (42), L. F. B. (38), and Summit (36) represent the normal situation for Tiwi men of such ages.

In terms of success (as measured by bestowals) Padimo and Summit (largely through the patronage of elders) and Boya and Gitjara (largely through their own operations) were the coming young men among the Malaula. Of the others, L. F. B. was approaching forty with few assets and no influence, and the other three, Tiberun, Banana, and Teapot, had not even got started in the influence race.

A Very Successful Elder: Ki-in-kumi

The most influential man in Malau and the head of the biggest household was Ki-in-kumi. Since he had been born around 1863-64 and had been

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554 of Units I and II and made their wives available for redistribution. The working of the Tiwi system made this possibility unlikely. Unsuccessful junior elders could not expect to step into the shoes of successful senior elders merely by outliving them; nor could one rise to power in the gerontocratic system merely by living past fifty-five. What was necessary was age *plus* ability, and the time to demonstrate the ability was in one's thirties. If it was not demonstrated and recognized by then, a man could not forge ahead in his middle forties and early fifties, for by then it was too late. This fact gave a certain cyclical quality to the transfer of influence in Tiwi. The influence of successful senior elders, to the extent that such an intangible thing was transferable at all, tended to skip a decade and bypass the men currently in the junior elder category in favor of the men in the current "young operator" category. Since Ki-in-kumi was already quite old, there was in 1929 a great deal of political maneuvering going on in Malau and elsewhere in anticipation of his death, and it was clear that the people most likely to profit by his death and the redistribution of his twelve resident wives (one-third of all resident wives in the band) were the men aged from thirty-two to forty-two such as Padimo, Boya, Summit, and Gitjara, all of whom were jockeying for position to take advantage of the death of any old man, especially such a wealthy elder as Ki-in-kumi. Some of the widows would undoubtedly remarry into other bands, but these younger Malauila, living with or near the old man's establishment, were already taking advantage of their strategic location to make some preliminary deals and marriage arrangements for the old man's widows even before his death. Neither Padimo, as Ki-in-kumi's son-in-law, nor Boya, as his nominal "son," could themselves marry any of the widows, but as resident members of his establishment and the only two men so situated, each was in an excellent spot to act as an honest broker in the disposal of Ki-in-kumi's large estate. Anybody interested in obtaining a widow or two at the death of Ki-in-kumi was well advised to have a few quiet words with either Padimo or Boya well ahead of time. Both of them had wives who lived and worked every day alongside Ki-in-kumi's womenfolk and thus they each had ideal communication systems to the women's side of the band. This was why they had held off setting up their own separate establishments though they were both married men. Neither were "heirs" of Ki-in-kumi in any strict Western use of that word, but it was obvious that it was their careers that would be promoted and their spheres of influence that would be enhanced by the death of Ki-in-kumi. The junior elders, all approaching or past the age of fifty with only small establishments and small spheres of influence, were being bypassed in the transfer of the old man's assets.

Every Tiwi anxious to obtain a Ki-in-kumi widow recognized the strategic positions of Padimo and Boya; the problem was to decide which broker to retain, since the positions of the two men in relation to Ki-in-kumi were so different. For the past four or five years Padimo had been the right-hand man and trusted lieutenant and undoubtedly it was he upon whom Ki-in-kumi was relying to carry out his own wishes about the distribution of his widows. We said earlier that old men found it difficult to control the remarriage of their

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557 would become involved or make any soundings among the widows unless there
587 was something in it for them. Hence the client had to find out whether a
promise of general goodwill and friendship was all that Boys (or Padimo)
[584] would ask in return for his services or whether the price would be much
higher—perhaps as high as the bestowal of the client's next baby daughter. It
was in such ways that widow-remarriage arrangements and infant bestowals
were intertwined; a much-delayed bestowal to an apparently unrelated indi-
vidual would be the ultimate pay-off to the broker or agent who had engineered
a widow remarriage for the bestower years before.

[561] This role of agent in the disposal of a dead man's widows was a type
of operation best suited to men in the first stages of their own married lives
—that is, to men in their middle thirties or very early forties who had perhaps
married their first or second widows and who had as yet no young wives of
their own in residence. Having no young wives to guard, they were able to
get around easily on diplomatic missions and they had their own listening
posts inside the world of women in the person of their own mothers (if still
alive) and in the elderly widows whom they themselves had married. The ambi-
tious young brokers were tipped off by their mothers and elderly wives as to
how the young wives wished to be distributed and what the competing young
brokers were trying to arrange. Thus when a wealthy old man like Ki-in-kumi
died, the redistribution of his wives through remarriage was a matter that had
been decided beforehand by an extraordinary complex tangle of semisecret
arrangements and deals and promises, but the people most influential in ar-
ranging the redistribution were the young brokers who usually got few, if any,
of the young widows for themselves but who collected their rewards in repu-
tation, influence, alliances, and future bestowals from the men for whom they
had acted as agents.

[769] Thus the death of Ki-in-kumi or of any other old man with many wives
tended to disperse the wives all over the tribe, with only one or two, or at
most three, going to any one new husband. A large estate was almost always
fragmented by the death of the old man who had built it up, and any one of
his contemporaries was able to take over only a very small fraction of it at best.
The levirate and sororate principles, though present, worked very feebly.
The men who benefited most—not immediately, but eventually—were the
young operators.⁹ In such a manner Padimo and Boys were sure to be the
long-term beneficiaries of Ki-in-kumi's death though neither of them could
remarry any of his widows. The real heirs of the wealthy old men of sixty and
over were the young men who happened to be between thirty-two and forty-
two when those old men got near to death. The men between forty-five and
fifty-five whose brokerage business ten years earlier had not been very skillfully

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587 ⁹ At least some of the so-called "stolen" or disputed wives were widows who had
insisted on marrying the younger agent instead of the older client, which put the young
broker in the embarrassing position of saying to his client, "I cannot make delivery of
the widow I acquired on your account; she insists on marrying me instead." Such an
incident did not do his agency business much good but tended rather to frighten off
clients.

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handled, or who happened to be at the brokering age when no big households were being liquidated, found themselves in the position that Pingirimini and Tipiperna-gerai occupied in 1928-29. We know they had not been successful dealers in their thirties because we found them around the age of fifty with only one resident wife each and relatively few bestowals in prospect. Their earlier dealings in widows had not laid the right foundations for successful careers as elders. Even before he was forty, Padimo had five or six bestowed wives either in residence or in prospect, and Boya, not much over forty, had several already promised. The death of Ki-in-kumi in the near future would bring both of them more reputation and ultimately more bestowals in return for their skill (if they showed it) in the disposition of the estate. The inferiority of Pingirimini and Tipiperna-gerai to these younger men in the marriage and influence struggle was already apparent and would be even more accentuated by Ki-in-kumi's death.

The Politics of Bestowal

The above discussion of how younger men were indirectly benefited by the deaths or impending deaths of wealthy older men does not pretend to give an exhaustive list of all the considerations that went into the reallocation of a dead man's widows. We built our analysis around those factors which were paramount in the case of Ki-in-kumi's household. Other cases were different to the extent that there were real adult sons involved in them rather than a nominal "son" like Boya, or because in them the old man had not chosen a clear-cut executor as Ki-in-kumi had chosen Padimo, or because an old man had surviving brothers close to him in age and alliance who would emphasize the levirate principle and seek to have it followed in the relocation of their dead brother's widows. The few points we are seeking to emphasize among the many that might be emphasized in any exhaustive treatment of Tiwi widow remarriage are: 1) that widow remarriage was a very flexible area in which the ultimate disposition of the widows was decided by the manipulations and wishes of a wide range of individuals including both relatives and nonrelatives. The dead man himself; the fathers of the wives, if still alive; the brothers of the widows, if adults; the widows themselves, if strong minded; the executors of the dead man, if clearly nominated; and the numerous dealers and brokers on behalf of remote clients or even on their own account—all tried to make their own wishes prevail. The result was that no two cases were ever alike, but on balance 2) it was younger men rather than older men who were most likely to enhance their reputations and increase their assets in the long run as the results of these widow re-deals, even though in the short run it was the older men who remarried most of the widows, especially the younger widows.

We have briefly discussed what we have labeled the politics of widow remarriage before discussing the politics of infant bestowal, although logically it might appear that infant bestowal should be taken up first. We have sul-

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with many free daughters were usually men well over fifty. "Comers" were men in their thirties. In so choosing the "comers," the old and wealthy men reached right over the junior elders and the forty-year-old group down to the ranks of the young operators. In this way we may say that the real power group, the successful old gerontocrats, chose their own successors. They chose young men twenty or more years younger than themselves (as Ki-in-kumi chose Padimo) because men at such an age were not rivals or competitors. A man so chosen in his thirties could be already powerful and fairly wealthy by his middle forties (like Tomitari in 1928) and very wealthy in his fifties. Such men went up fast because of their selection by the group in power. Those not so chosen had to go up the hard way by accumulating what position and influence they could by manipulations of the few available females not controlled by the wealthy old men. The "haves" left a small minority of women available to the "have-not" men to keep them quiet, but the great majority of females were concentrated in the hands of a few old men and these old men chose their own successors. Thus the Tiwi system actually deserves to be called a primitive oligarchy as much as it deserves to be called a gerontocracy. It was run by a few old men who ruled it not so much because they were old but because as young men they had been clever and then had lived long enough to reap the rewards of their cleverness. These rewards made up Tiwi wealth—many wives, much leisure, many daughters to bestow, many satellites and henchmen, and much power and influence over other people and tribal affairs.

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on whom, but they also brooded long and suspiciously upon who had supported whom and why, either verbally or with spear in hand. In addition, all the incidents of the battle, in minute detail, were relayed to the rest of the tribe who had not been present, and many of these absentees would discover, among the proceedings, things they did not like or suspicious-looking actions on the part of some of their competitors or putative friends. These they would weave into their own strategies and store up for future use. An elder frequently found some basis for a new grievance against somebody in the events of a battle at which he had not even been present.

Finally, through all these disputes and hostile actions between senior men ran their united suspicion of bachelors. The only "battle" in two years between large groups drawn from distinct bands that had a clear-cut and definite final act was one fought in Rangu in late 1928. On that occasion, after disputing and fighting among themselves from early morning until mid-afternoon, all the old men present from both war parties gradually channeled all their anger toward one unfortunate young Mandiimbula bachelor whom they finally accused of going around from band to band creating misunderstandings between various elders. Several elders on both sides testified publicly that their mistrust of each other had started shortly after the bachelor in question had begun hanging around their households; whereupon the senior warriors of the two opposing armies had no difficulty in deciding that most of their suspicions of each other "were all his fault," and with great unanimity ganged up on the bachelor and quickly clubbed him into unconsciousness for being a troublemaker and a suspicion spreader. In the midst of battle the gerontocracy had reasserted its solidarity by finding a bachelor scapegoat upon whom to unload all their mutual suspicions and aggressions.

Religious Activities

If by religious activities we mean those beliefs and practices which pertain to unseen or supernatural forces, including rituals whose performance somehow affects those forces, then Tiwi religion readily crystallized around three focal points. These were: 1) their elaborate system of day-to-day taboos; 2) the elaborate set of beliefs and rituals pertaining to death; and 3) their complicated initiation ceremonies for young men. Add to these their myths and folklore about creation and their tribal past, and the whole of Tiwi religion has been covered. Space permits only brief mention of these three focal points.

TABOO In earlier chapters we have pointed out several aspects of life in which Tiwi culture diverged sharply from what anthropologists have come to regard as Australian mainland norms and we have suggested that these differences from the mainland are most reasonably to be attributed to either Tiwi isolation or favorable food supply, or some combination of both factors. In their religious life this same line of explanation continues to have validity. To those familiar with the cultures of Australian tribes, perhaps

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[77]
[78] sister's son being initiated, the attitude of a Tiwi toward the whole *pukimani* state was essentially a passive attitude. *Pukimani* behavior was something one accepted and conformed to when required; it was in no way an active attempt to change nature, people, food, gods, spirits, or anything else in the universe.

[181] It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that since their *pukimani* system offered them no handle by which to seek actively to alter the universe in which they lived, the Tiwi found that universe to their liking as it was. Unlike the tribes of central Australia who lavished a lot of thought upon magical methods of improving the food supply or the rainfall, the Tiwi believed and acted on the belief that as long as they observed their *pukimani* taboos, the food would continue to be as abundant and the rains as regular as they had always been.

[171] The central Australians, by seeking to coerce nature through magic, suggest that they found nature unsatisfactory; the Tiwi, by relying upon passive taboo-observance alone, suggest rather that their relationship to nature was an acceptable equilibrium that they wanted to preserve, not change. And if everybody observed his *pukimani* taboos when required, that equilibrium would remain undisturbed. Hence the antisocial man in Tiwi was not the maker of individual magic (he was unknown, anyway) but the nonobserver of taboo. By his nonobservance he threatened to upset the normally satisfactory equilibrium between man and nature. For a senior Tiwi male to be charged publicly with breaking *pukimani* rules was a disgrace and a blow to his prestige and his position in public opinion. His behavior was possibly a sin against the spirits but it was certainly a shame in the eyes of his fellows. *Pukimani* observance was thus a matter of respectability to a much greater degree than it was a matter of pleasing the spirits.

[62] DEATH As was mentioned above, death is the natural phenomenon around which the Tiwi had woven their most elaborate web of ritual. The most frequent and most important Tiwi ceremonies were the mourning ceremonies, and they came in three sizes—small, medium, and large—depending on the age, sex, and importance of the dead person. The mourning ceremonies which drew the crowds were not held until some time after the death and burial. [55]
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[56] All bodies of dead persons were buried within twenty-four hours of their death by digging a hole near the camp where the death had occurred and placing the body, wrapped in bark, in it. Near most well-used camping spots there was already a graveyard marked by old graveposts, and the latest corpse was buried there or near there. Seldom was the body carried any distance for burial. If a person died even less than a mile from an old burial ground, there was little inclination to carry the body that far. He would be buried, instead, within perhaps a hundred yards of where he died. This had certain awkward repercussions for social organization, since occasionally a person died while away from his home district and, being buried where he died, his ceremonies were held and his posts erected in a district in which his immediate family did not live. Young men often used this to validate a change of residence, giving as their reason for living in a band territory in which they had not grown up, the location there of their father's graveposts. [59]

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88] to marry the boy's sisters, an easily met requirement since girls were "married"
 60] so much earlier than their brothers. Very senior and successful men did not
 bother as a rule with initiation sponsorship because it took too much of their
 valuable time. Hence in practice, most boys at the *Marukumarni* age were taken
 56] in hand by a group of men around 40 years of age who were at least betrothed
 to, if not already married to, the boys' sisters. Such men justified or ration-
 alized their actions by stating that, as the husbands of the boy's sisters, they
 wanted their little brother-in-law to be made into a man in proper form. In
 60] fact, they were usually given the job by the boy's father, who, having bestowed
 daughters upon them, regarded it as a legitimate request to make of them.
 It was the duty of male cross-cousins to initiate their wives' little brothers,
 but in true Tiwi style the father had to request them to do it, and they counted
 it in their tallies of what they owed him and what he owed them.

88] Though the father instigated and stage managed the whole affair, he
 and his household were always thunderstruck when the cross-cousins—armed
 to the teeth and painted like a war party—arrived at his camp one evening
 and proceeded to carry off forcibly the yelling 14-year-old.⁶ He had to be
 dragged literally from the bosom of his family, with his mother screaming
 and trying to hide him and the father pretending to resist the invaders of his
 household. From then on, until the final stage (*Mikingula*) at age 24-26, the
 boy was completely under the authority of the men who carried him off.
 During these approximately ten to twelve years, he spent much of the time
 alone with them in the bush where the group lived a monastic existence, as a
 small band of isolates, speaking to no one (especially not to females) and
 obtaining their own food. During these phases the tutors guarded the boy as
 if he were literally a prisoner and taught him all the things—chiefly, ritual
 matters—that grown men should know. At intervals the youth was allowed to
 go home, on week-end leaves so to speak, but when at home he had to observe
 all the silences, the modest demeanor, the taboos and the austerities of the
 isolated life. In monastic language, he was under a strict rule of obedience
 to his tutors.

56] Breaking in on the long years of austerity, spent either in seclusion in
 the bush or in *pukimani* at home, were periodic collective ceremonies when
 88] the youth was ritually advanced from one stage of initiation to the next.⁷
 These were public ceremonies, witnessed by large crowds, and the more impor-
 24] tant of such transition ceremonies took place in January and February when
 the *kolema* yams were ripe. At these ceremonies the youths were handled
 in batches or classes, all the boys of one grade being ritually advanced to the
 next grade, and the top grade or final class being formally graduated as fully
 30] initiated men. The crucial grade—when the pubic hairs were forcibly pulled out
 and he was at last allowed to talk back a little to his tutors—was usually
 reached by a youth somewhere between his eighteenth and twentieth years, but

⁶ See Hart 1933 for some further details of the tearing away of the boy from the bosom of his family.

⁷ A full list of initiation grade names and their duration in years is given in Hart 1931.

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he still had six years to go after that, not finishing the final grade of *Mikingula* until somewhere past the age of 24 or 25. 302
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In contrast with the mainland initiation ceremonies, we think the most interesting point about Tiwi initiation resides not in the formal ceremonies but in the removal from the food-production units, for long periods of the year, of all the young males between the ages of 14 and 25. It is true that they did not spend all their time in seclusion and that after the age of twenty they remained mostly in their household camps, where they contributed to the household food production. Nonetheless, it remains clear that only a very well-off tribe could afford to allow so much time off from food production to all its young hunters. Tiwi fathers, it would seem, in arranging for the initiation of their sons to begin just when they were becoming productive hunters, were willing to sacrifice that productivity for less tangible advantages. The youths secluded and guarded in the bush while getting an education, were not only out of the work force but were also out of the predatory-bachelor force. A Tiwi elder made sacrifices to "send his sons to college" but he breathed easier to know that the sons of the other elders were all there too. 171
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All males without exception had to go through the full initiation cycle, and from the time of their first forcible seizure at the age of 14-15 to their final graduation at 24-26, they were in a state of *pukimani* and their personal names were strictly taboo to everybody in the tribe. Each youth was referred to only by his grade name, *Marukumarni* for the first year, *Mikingula* for the last four years, and so on. And here we return finally to a point which was mentioned much earlier—namely, the complete unimportance in tribal eyes of all males below the age of twenty-five. Until they had completed the final stage of initiation, Tiwi males were still boys; they did not even have names. Occasionally, when collecting genealogies and coming upon a reference to a young man, the innocent anthropologist would ask, "Is he married?" In tones of the deepest contempt the informant would reply, "That kid, how could he be married? He's still *Mikingula*." Though *Mikingula* was the stage typically reached by a man at about 20-21 and lasted for the next four years, to the Tiwi it was still a stage in the life of a boy. Not until he had finished as *Mikingula* could he step out into the world and life of men. How he spent the years immediately after finishing initiation decided how soon some senior man would think sufficiently highly of him to aid him in acquiring his first ancient widow. 381
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THE KULAMA CEREMONY

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circle, the women and children looking on. The designs radiating from the central circle represent a forest of eucalyptus trees.

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FIG. 11. *The Kulama Ceremony*
The Ningaui Performing the Second Kulama Ceremony.

KULAMA INITIATION

<i>Grades of Kulama initiates</i>		<i>Period of initiation</i>
Marukumuni	Male	From approximately April until next Kulama
Marukumuninga	Female	
Kilipaniati	Male	From Kulama, mid-March until the fruiting of the cycad, about mid-July
Kilipanatinga	Female	
Wadjeniat	Male	From mid-July until the eating of the edible yam, at the next Kulama
Wadjeniatinga	Female	

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Grades of Kulama initiates		Period of initiation
Mikinatrina	Male	2 years
Mikinarrininga	Female	
Mikintara	Male	From one kulama until the next
Mikintaringa	Female	
Mikistarima	Male	From one kulama until the next
Mikistariminga	Female	
Mikingula	Male	Fully initiated for life
Mikingulinga	Female	

2. THE PRELIMINARY RITUALS OF THE KULAMA

881 (1) *The Capture of the Marukumuni Initiate*

According to my informants, any tribesman chosen for initiation, must be a mature man, usually married and with children. In fact, all the men pointed out to me as being suitable candidates were thirty years of age or older.¹⁸

The first time there is a gathering of people after a *kulama* ceremony, such as at a burial, or an *ilania*,¹⁹ the fully initiated *kulama* men, the *Mikingulas*, ask the permission of the leader of the *kulama*, the *Naripikilitipi*, to capture any man or woman, who is suitable for the first stage of initiation, that of the *Marukumuni*.²⁰ In preparation for this, the *Mikingulas* have already mixed a quantity of yellow ochre.

At a given signal, one of the *Mikingulas*, who has been standing unobtrusively near, suddenly throws his arms around the chosen initiate. The captive struggles to release himself, protesting against being initiated into the *kulama*. But a number of the *Mikingulas* rush to their companion's aid, lay the struggling initiate on the ground, paint a design, in yellow, on his upper arms and body (Pl. 42A), and put the red tail feathers of a black cockatoo in his hair. Meanwhile, other initiated men are walking around the group

[302] ¹⁸ The age of initiation has been raised since Spencer and Fry saw the *kulama* in the
[301] early days of the century. Spencer (1928, p. 665) refers to young boys, while Reuben
[178] Cooper, whom I knew in 1920 as a young man about twenty, would have only been
[114] about thirteen years of age when Fry saw him as a *Kilpaniani*.

¹⁹ A preliminary ceremony for the burial rituals.

²⁰ I do not know who captures the female initiate, the *Marukumunga*.

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551 expression as *in' abominaiiga* (=your wife) is forbidden, nor for example
 843 can one of the woman's brothers enquire the whereabouts of his sister
 from the woman's husband. There is no such prohibition, however,
 against the use of her name nor against references to her by the rest of the
 tribe provided always the husband is not within hearing.

551 None of the names of a person passing through any stage of initiation
 561 can be used by anyone at all. Such a person is always alluded to or
 881 addressed as *Watyinyirti* or *Mikinyirtiiga* or whatever degree of initiation
 he or she has reached. As the normal initiation ceremonies are carried out
 continuously from the age of seventeen to the age of about twenty-six for
 a man and from ten to nineteen for a girl, for those periods of their lives
 personal names are seldom used.

I propose to call these names "initiation-grade names," since they
 are applied to an individual according to the grade of initiation he has
 reached. A full list of them is as follows:—

Initiation-Grade Names (Male).

Average Age.		Duration of Grade.	
15-17	..	1 year	<i>Maru-kumarni</i>
15-17	..	6 months	<i>Kilipirni-ati</i>
16-18	..	6 months	<i>Watyinyirti</i>
18-20	..	2 years	<i>Mikin yirtiiga</i>
19-21	..	1 year	<i>Mikin djira</i>
20-22	..	1 year	<i>Mikadjirima</i>
24-26	..	4 years	<i>Mikin gula</i>

Initiation-Grade Names (Female)*.

10-12	..	1 year	<i>Maru-kumarniiga</i>
15-17	..	6 months	<i>Kilipirni-atiiga</i>
11-13	..	6 months	<i>Watyinyirtiiga</i>
13-15	..	2 years	<i>Mikin yirtiiga</i>
14-16	..	1 year	<i>Mikin djiriga</i>
15-17	..	1 year	<i>Mikadjiriniiga</i>
19-21	..	4 years	<i>Mikin gula</i>

551 In addition to these initiation-grade names there is also a series of
 561 names which I propose to call "age-grade names." These are more

*In actual practice the female names are not nearly as commonly used as the male.

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strictly descriptive rather than terms of address, yet quite frequently they are used in both ways. They refer to the state of life the person has reached and are often used as substitute names during the period in which an individual is nameless on account of his name being tabu. Names such as baby, young man, etc., are of course found in every language; it is their occasional use as terms of address that makes them interesting among the Tiwi, and also the fact that Spencer has confused them with the initiation-grade names. These names are:—

Age-Grade Names (Male).

Male baby	(Birth to about 11)	<i>Kiritini</i>
Boy approaching puberty	(12-14)	<i>Mala-kwina</i>
Uninitiated boy or young man		<i>Tatiŋ-ati</i>
Young man during initiation	(Initiation Grade Term)	
Initiated man		<i>Mikingula</i>
Old man	(over 60)	<i>Irula or Palini</i>

Age-Grade Names (Female).

Female baby	(Birth to about 6)	<i>Kiritiga</i>
Girl approaching puberty	(7 to 11)	<i>Aliiga</i>
Girl beginning to menstruate	(12-14)	<i>Muru-kibura</i>
Girl at first pregnancy		<i>Mirigaladja</i>
Shortly before birth of child		<i>Poporganti</i>
Mother of male child		<i>Ari-ani</i>
Mother of female child		<i>Pirnambili</i>
Mother of several children		<i>Nuran-rika</i>
Old women with children		<i>Pirimariŋa</i>
Barren woman		<i>Timiriŋa</i>

If these two lists are compared with Spencer,⁴ it will be found that all the names which he gives as "status terms" are included in one or other of my two lists with the exception of "Gunmurdi" which Spencer gives as "very old man," and which I was quite unable to trace at all. I have adopted the division into age-grade names and initiation-grade names and rejected "status terms" altogether as the two groups of names are quite distinct, one depending on age, the other on advancement in initiation.

⁴ *Native Tribes of Northern Australia*, 1914, p. 84.

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usually wives and children only, but this life lived in an isolated household is broken in upon at intervals by short interludes of the "collective life," when members of numbers of households gather together for ceremonies, legal proceedings, fights and initiations. If we may call these two types of living the public life and the private life of the adult male Australian, then we may say that Antonio was very happy in private life and uncomfortable in public life. The two activities which made him happiest were playing with his children and hunting with his dogs. When left alone by society to do these two things Antonio was a kindly, patient, gentle, good-natured and relaxed man, but in all social relations with other adult men he was nervous and uncertain of himself. One might hazard the opinion that it was because children and dogs made no great demands upon him that he was happy and at ease with them, but people he found very trying since they were always expecting him to "take a stand" or to make a decision and this was something he had no talent for, something which did not "come naturally" to him, and something which gave him no satisfaction. Turimpi's mantle had fallen on a man who just wanted the world to let him alone, who preferred his home, his family and his dogs to any rewards which public life could give him.

MARIANO

Mariano was first encountered in Port Darwin before the writer had got to the Tiwi. Finding me waiting for transportation to the islands, Mariano offered to come with me and act as my chief interpreter and informant. As he appeared a very intelligent and mature member of the tribe, I promptly hired him. (Or so I thought at the time. Events were to prove that what had happened was that Mariano had appropriated me. For Mariano was (in his own opinion, at least) the only possible person fit to escort and advise a white man visiting the Tiwi. He had created something of a monopoly in the job of white man's escort and adviser. The beginning of this not unusual native profession went back, in his case, to the foundation of the Mission station. When the missionaries arrived in 1911 and began to build their mission houses Mariano became almost immediately the principal go-between of Mission and natives. As far as the situation of 1911 can now be reconstructed the factors operating to select Mariano for this position were merely suitability of social status, availability and willingness to undertake it. As already mentioned, the Mission was established at the southeast tip of Bathurst Island. This was Tiklauila territory and at that time the dominant family among the Tiklauila was that of Turimpi. Of Turimpi's sons, Antonio, the eldest, was about 28 or 29, Mariano was about 25 and Louis, the third son, was a youth not yet 20. Antonio's role as eldest son was already fixed, Mariano's, as second son, was still flexible. Antonio was personally unaggressive except when forced into taking a strong stand, Mariano (we may speculate) was already more forceful and more prone to draw attention to himself by aggressive behavior.⁶ Mariano was just ready in 1911 to emerge from the age group of young men who should, according to Tiwi ideas, be seen and not heard into the age group of "junior adult men" who

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have some slight voice in tribal affairs. Antonio had already emerged into this latter group and therefore was already committed to the old way of things to an extent that Mariano was not. This line of reasoning will explain at least why Mariano was chosen rather than Antonio. Louis, on the other hand, was still a boy indistinguishable among the group of 18 year olds.

Students of social organization in small societies are aware that in such societies the status requirements for certain positions are frequently such that often only a very few individuals, sometimes only one individual, are actually available to fill the positions. A similar narrow range of potential holders also pertains, it would seem, to statuses not known to the native culture but thrown up, as it were, by the demands of the culture-contact situation, as in the present case by the arrival of the Mission. What the missionaries needed among the natives was a spokesman for them (a) who had some influence, and influence in Tiwi is a combination of age, family prestige and personal forcefulness; (b) who was a local man in the district in which the Mission was built; (c) who was young enough to be flexible in his actions and thinking and therefore capable of being influenced by them; (d) who was not yet so committed to tribal mores (plural wives, strict observance of taboos, etc.) that once trusted by the Mission and identified in the native mind as a Mission-supporter he would be likely to embarrass the Mission by backsliding; and (e) who was willing to take on the job. They found their man in Mariano. A careful review of all the other possible candidates as they existed in 1911 fails to reveal any other man who had so many of the above desiderata. Dooley had many, but was a person of no family, certainly not a son of Turimpi.

In the early days of the Mission Mariano thus became its main spokesman among the tribe and the most trusted interpreter for and adviser of the priests. By 1928 he to some extent still occupied this position. But by then the Mission had had seventeen years in which to build up wider contacts and find other spokesmen, and its needs were no longer the same needs as in its pioneer days. Moreover, not only had the Mission matured in those seventeen years but so had Mariano. At the age of 42 or so, he was now a man of influence and prestige in the tribe but, like many better-known leaders of men in other societies, he was inclined toward an aggressive, bumptious self-importance and an exaggerated belief in his own indispensability. He had therefore become rather a trial to the missionaries (and to all the other white men to whom he had attached himself). The result was a continued series of quarrels between him and the Mission, which usually ended with Mariano, in a rage, storming off either to the bush or Port Darwin. In Port Darwin he characteristically worked for only the more important whites, senior government officials or at the hospital, until his anger had cooled sufficiently for him to return, self-contained, dignified, completely humorless and rather pompous, to ascertain whether the missionaries realized how foolish they had been to quarrel with him. If they had not, then he simply quit the Mission and waited for the arrival of some white visitor who needed a native sponsor. He thus acquired a greater knowledge of white ways than most of the Tiwi and as a result no doubt of his op-

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admitted the charge along the age-old line of "the woman tempted me," Louis always faced his accusers silently, sullenly, almost disinterestedly. He never excused himself, never alibied. On the other hand he never gloried in or boasted of his sexual exploits, he merely gave the impression that he was completely disinterested in the whole procedure of argument and punishment and wanted to get it over with as quickly as possible. It was very evident that, despite his sexual reputation, he was not invested with any glamour nor did he excite any hero-worship on the part of the younger men. The role of Don Juan in some cultures can presumably be a role that leads to a successful seducer's being envied and even to some extent hero-worshipped by the young bloods, but this seems quite absent as a cultural possibility in Tiwi values. Successful young seducers never act publicly as if they were proud of themselves nor in any way show off or assume a "look how clever I am" manner. Absence of such behavior was very noticeable in others besides Louis, and certainly he never acted in such a way, despite his obvious suitability for such a role were it culturally available.

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In camp and during the periods of the collective life he was silent, gloomy and dour, frequently irritable, unfriendly and hostile to everybody. He was too young, in Tiwi terms, to rate a wife, but the policy of the Mission to discourage plural marriages had as its positive correlate the promotion of marriages for the wifeless young men and Louis was one of those who had obtained a wife through Mission manipulations. She died after a beating which Louis in one of his frequent fits of anger had administered to her, and while the natives never said so openly, they clearly agreed with the Mission's charges that Louis had murdered his wife. Thus accused to his face by the Mission, Louis shrugged his shoulders in his normal, indifferent way. In council he seldom spoke and what he said carried no weight. This, of course, may well have been due to his age as in Tiwi terms Louis at 31 or 32 was still a young man who should keep silent in the presence of his seniors. But it was very noticeable that even in the quick informal conferences between members of a party on the march involving such petty decisions as whether to camp at this waterhole or try and make the next one before nightfall, or in similar minor decision-making, Louis took no part. He listened silently to the debate, was very quick to foresee correctly what the decision was going to be as was evidenced by his starting off again by himself before the main party had realized where the consensus lay, but he apparently felt no urge to express aloud his own views on the issue. His actions showed that in his private analysis of the situation he was way ahead of most of the debaters but apparently his personal satisfactions came from correct anticipation of majority decision rather than from any desire to participate himself in decision-making. The same ability to listen, analyze what he heard, to act upon his own analysis but never to intervene actively was very noticeable in Louis' reaction to the accusations against him by the outraged husbands. An outraged husband usually begins his charges late at night when the camps are quiet. At such a time he begins to yell his accusations through the darkness at the top of his voice, naming the seducer,

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Tip, and every white man who came in contact with him immediately shortened his name to the obvious diminutive form, was a person whose whole life was devoted to laughter. No English word fits him so well as the word "gay." This gaiety was not clownishness or buffoonery nor did it contain any element of malice or desire to hurt others; it was simply an enormous sense of fun. The other four brothers were in their different ways rather taut and tense personalities, or at least three were and Antonio was when away from home. Tip alone of the five brothers was always completely relaxed and unself-conscious. He was always looking on the bright side, always trying to banish tension and worry with a quip or a wisecrack, always making a joke. His favorite sentence opening was "perhaps." On one occasion a camp I was in was badly scared by a ghost appearing in the middle of the night in the midst of the camp fires. Everybody, anthropologist included, huddled around their fires, not daring to look and yet unable to abstain from furtive peeps. Finally the apparition seemed to have gone and there were low whispers from various firesides of, "Has it gone?—I think it's gone—it doesn't seem to be there now." "Perhaps it's gone to Port Darwin to see a movie," said Tip, loudly, and immediately the tension was broken and the whole camp shouted with laughter. On another occasion a group of natives who were escorting an elderly and venerable French priest through the bush, were chased by a herd of wild buffalo* and forced to take refuge in the nearby trees. The buffalo pawed and snorted under the trees and a discussion took place as to how to frighten them away. Shouting, swearing and throwing sticks failed to frighten them off. "Perhaps, Father," said Tip, convulsed with laughter at the whole proceeding and addressing the priest, "perhaps they would go away if you cursed at them in the Church language [i.e., Latin]."

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There are several important things to notice about Tip's humor. One is that much of the time he used it as a means of initiating action, as in the ghost incident where he took the lead over several senior men in dissolving the tension, or in the Warner incident,* where the initiating suggestion to play a very old and hackneyed joke came from him. In a culture that looked with disfavor on young men speaking out of turn, Tip was always speaking out of turn, but because such speaking was always in a joking form, few if any natives recognized it as being out of turn. From certain points of view we might say that Tip had found, through his gaiety, a tool which he used to make his presence felt without exciting social disapproval because of his lack of age. But that statement makes the whole matter sound far too conscious and deliberate. Again we face a constantly recurring problem—how much of "personality" is status-dictated and how much "natural"? Will increasing years and dignity cause Tip to cease laughing at life and its problems? There seem at least two grounds for strongly doubting it. One is the admittedly subjective but strongly held view that Tip didn't laugh and joke and come out with his incongruous "perhaps" to achieve effect or as a means to the end of social recognition, but because he genuinely and naturally enjoyed his own humor. Too many nights have I dozed off to sleep listening to Tip gurgling with sup-

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pressed laughter on the other side of the fire as he recalled to himself the amusing incidents of the day. Even when alone with his thoughts he was still laughing. This suggests that Tip's gaiety was "natural" rather than contrived for effect, and there is support for the suggestion in the fact that Tip was regarded as a poor hunter, because, as one critic put it, "He doesn't concentrate on killing the kangaroo but plays ~~like~~ on the kangaroo and makes a game out of hunting." Another indication that when alone he behaved in the same irresponsible manner that he exhibited in public.

The second ground that suggests that fun-loving and gaiety are not incompatible with increasing age and tribal status is the fact that there were many old and venerable Tiwi who loved fun and laughter just as Tipperary did. One such was Tu'untalumi, one of the most elderly of the Tiklauila, a man of weight, dignity and poise. He was a highly respected person, an expert in ceremonial performances and a rigid traditionalist in all things. But despite his age and dignity this man was as given to fun and laughter as Tip was. The main difference was that Tip's laughter was loud, boisterous and prankish; Tu'untalumi's jokes and quips were delivered in low, gentle tones and his laughter was dignified and restrained. But within the limitations imposed by his status he got as much fun and extracted as much humor out of life as Tip, illustrating the point that age and seniority in Tiwi do not at all necessarily mean sourness and lack of humor. Although the two were not related Tipperary played up to the old man and courted and valued his approval while Tu'untalumi clearly liked having Tip around him. They were kindred souls but separated by more than forty years of age.

As is probably the case in most cultures, so among the Tiwi—the genuinely gay person is popular. Tipperary though the next to youngest of Turimpi's sons was the one with most friends. Perhaps significantly, his friends were among both his seniors and juniors, but not among his brothers. Antonio was the only brother who sought Tip's company and this can be accounted for either by the fact that Antonio, when not harassed by his status, was an easy-going, friendly and none too intelligent man who laughed readily even when none too sure of what the joke was, or that he found Tip's company a relaxation from the cares of state. Of the other brothers, the self-righteous and puritanical Mariano considered Tip frivolous and deplored (or was jealous of) the tendency of white men to become fond of him. Louis actively disliked Tip perhaps because his love affairs were an obvious target for some of Tip's better quips. "Perhaps he is going into the bush to take a nap" was one of his comments when he saw Louis disappearing among the trees. With his full brother Bob, Tip had few close ties, perhaps because Bob spent much of his time in Darwin, but even more likely, one suspects, because Bob, an indefinite and colorless youngster, shrank from attracting public notice, whereas Tip was always drawing attention to himself, with the result that Bob to save himself embarrassment avoided his company.

Outside his siblings, Tipperary's gaiety earned him the liking and companionship of the younger men and made him a favorite younger man of some

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garded as a good, willing, obliging and respectful worker. The tribe thought of him in much the same way, the missionaries and anthropologist agreed with the estimate. Bob was essentially a "good boy." He never did anything wrong, never answered back, never spoke out of turn, never stepped out of line, never deviated from the behavior expected of him. He was, of course, too young in Tiwi categories to have any influence or importance. But it is hard to see how age could turn him into anything more positive than he was at 28, at which age he invited the comment that he had very little personality. About all that could be said is that he was a born follower and always tried to do the right thing, the right thing consisting in conforming to the expectations of whatever group he happened to be with at the moment. When with the tribe Bob did what the elders told him to do. If they disagreed among themselves, Bob waited until the majority decision was clear and then added his voice to the chorus of agreement. The same faithfulness which caused his white employers to label Bob "a good boy" caused the tribal elders to regard him as among the sounder of the young men, though they deplored his tendency to spend so much time in Darwin. But even on his trips to Darwin Bob did not depart too much from the norms for men of his age who had been children when the Mission came and who therefore constituted a post-white generation. He did not stay more than three or four months at a time in Darwin, he returned for all the steps of his initiation ceremonies, he observed his food and other taboos even when in Darwin, and during his sojourns there he never caused scandal back-home by getting into the slightest "trouble." He went to Darwin when the tribe could raise no valid objection to his going, he returned whenever his absence led to criticism. Bob was a barometer of which line offered the least resistance at any given time. His chief motivation seemed to be to escape public attention, to always be where he would attract the least notice.

The only occasion I ever saw Bob forced to emerge from the background and take the center of the stage was on one occasion when he returned from Darwin and was told by the local gossip that his wife had been unfaithful to him during his absence. The man involved was—not surprisingly—his brother Louis. This really put Bob on the spot. In pre-white days a youngster like Bob would not have had a wife, and therefore the situation of a man of Bob's tender years calling an older man to account for seducing his wife could not have arisen. The traditional pattern in seduction cases is for the husband, necessarily an older man, to accuse the alleged seducer, necessarily a young man and therefore a bachelor and a person of no importance, and demand vengeance on him. The accuser is, therefore, traditionally a man of weight and prestige and dignity, and carries on his case against the seducer with style and authority. The accused on the other hand, being young and a person of no importance, stands abashed, cowed and silent, looking guilty while the outraged husband showers him with tirades of abuse, followed finally by spears or throwing-sticks. In the case of Bob versus Louis the casting of these traditional roles was all wrong. Bob, overcome with embarrassment, did his best

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to give an imitation of an angry and indignant elder telling off an impertinent "young punk,"¹¹ but even to the Tiwi, the spectacle of the subservient and retiring Bob trying to overawe and browbeat the formidable and completely self-reliant Louis was such a perversion of the traditional pattern that it bordered on the farcical. As soon as it was over and the conventions were satisfied, Bob, pale and shaken by the unwonted initiative and aggressiveness he had been forced to display, hurried back to the oblivion of Darwin where no such demands were made on a good boy, and, presumably to ensure that he would not be forced to go through such an ordeal again, took the rather unusual step of taking his wife along with him this time.

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The above brief sketches convey perhaps some idea of the variation in personalities of the five brothers. Obviously no definite conclusions can be drawn from material of this sort. It is merely suggestive of possibilities for theory. What it seems to suggest is, however, at variance with the idea that personality is substantially uniform in the simpler societies. No attempt has been made in this paper to explore the full gamut of personal differences among the Tiwi. By adding half a dozen other individuals (including such as Tu'untalumi and Dooley, already briefly mentioned) to the five siblings we have discussed above, it would be easy to widen the number of "personality types" illustrated. By confining our attention to the sons of Turimpi we have avoided an arbitrary selection of contrasting individuals; the five men selected were chosen *not because* they were different *but because* they were brothers. How different they are in that vaguely defined thing called personality is largely a matter of opinion depending almost entirely upon what is regarded as a "personality" difference. All that we would here claim for them in the way of difference is that on any continuum for a single trait the five sons of Turimpi range themselves about as differentially as any five average men are likely to do in our culture. In aggressiveness, for example, Mariano is well toward one end of the range, Bob well toward the other; Tipperary, Louis and Antonio at different points in between. In decisiveness or decision-making, Mariano, Louis and Tipperary belong to the heavily positive side, Antonio and Bob on the heavily negative side. But if we couple with decisiveness the ability to win friends and influence people, Tipperary, the decisive and popular, must be sharply separated from Louis and Mariano, decisive but unpopular. The three aggressive dominating types differ markedly among themselves in what might be called interest in life or chief motivating force, Mariano expressing his need for dominance through political channels, Louis through sex, Tipperary through laughter and kidding. On an introvert-extrovert continuum, Louis the silent withdrawn lone-wolf has to be placed well toward the introvert pole, with Mariano not very far away from him, but with Tipperary the out-giving friendly "Rotarian" kiddler at the other extreme, and Antonio well down toward Tipperary's end. These are of course just a few of the possible ranges along which the sons of Turimpi have to be located.

Whatever facet of behavior we seize on for comparison, we find these five

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All those in number one group belong to the same clan, and are "opposite" to those of number two group, who also belong to one clan. The lines A, B, C and D are intermarrying groups, i.e. Ego marries his *yabunaiya*, etc. 582
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Of course, relationship terms also include others denoting the type of relation or blood tie. For instance, a mother's brother or a sister's son (group) when distantly related to Ego could be his father-in-law and would then be called *YUNARENIWA*. A true father is *ERINGANI*, a father's sister, *yananiya*; father's father *ARMINI*; father's mother, *amma*; mother's brother's own daughter, *yamuina*, and one son, *YAMUWANINI*⁴; half brother is *INGULABINI* and a half-sister *inguleba*.⁵

This system of marriage is not unlike the Murgin and Anula system and also is the same as the *wadji wadji* (wrong side marriage) of the Mudbara. In one, cross-cousins—not *inguleba*—can marry, while in the true Mudbara cross-cousin marriage is prohibited. 582

Rites. The rituals centre around the Kulama. The underlying principle of this is to ensure that the Kulama (a small hot yam that embodies the spirit of the "old woman" and guardian of the horde) is cooked correctly, for this ensures her protection against Maradji, the rainbow snake, another old woman who can cause evil to come upon them and "swallow them" up. It is performed during the wet season by each family, and is said to bring about a plentiful supply of food. The Kulama is also used to pass the initiates, both male and female, from a lower to a higher order in the social scale, although I myself could not see that any important results were obtained by the initiates through the ritual. 796
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Some result, or at least protection, however, is obtained: if the Kulama is not sung or danced at the prescribed time or place, the Marakarti (spear grass) and also the ring used for cooking the Kulama yams at the ritual, would give rise to a poison, *Tani*, which would pass into the air and cause sickness; perhaps a youth who had not passed through the Kulama would sicken and die. On the other hand, a youth who has passed through the ritual may gain a certain satisfaction by believing that he can drive the sickness away and protect the family. In addition, the Kulama is not only an increase ritual for yams; in it the father also "sings" the name of his child in a form of song, *aps*, and foretells in a dream that a certain spirit "shade" will be incarnated through one of his wives at some future date; for these children are waiting at that "spirit dreaming" place called Bilawuwi. In other words, it is a human increase ritual. [751]
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⁴ These are true cousins and cannot marry.

⁵ This *inguleba* native is the term for persons who are taboo to Ego; they cannot approach Ego's wives, as their sweat must not touch. They are people who are "out of line" in relationship. For instance, if a Kudjarli man marries two women, one a Tukambani and the other a Minini, his children would be of two different *pukni* or totems. These children, half-brothers and half-sisters, are *inguleba* to each other.

⁶ It is unlike the Karawadi of the subincised people, in which the initiate is freed of certain food taboos, and again in the Kudjindjara, through which the old men receive magical power to levy tribute from the young people of the tribe, who have not passed through that ritual.

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Sickness is cured by beating the ground around the victim to hunt the evil spirit away. Likewise, a song, *Upripu*, is sung by the wives of the sick man to make him better. The *Kurewa*, a pointed bone, or sometimes a tomahawk is used to stab a person's urine or an article his body has touched (e.g. a bark he has lain upon to sleep) and so cause him to die. Blood thrown into the sea will cause a violent wind and a big tide. The Kulama rite will bring about the same result. No instance has been found of magic being used to entice the spirit from a person's body, yet if a person failed to show sympathy for the dead, the dead person's "shade" would cause that person to die and then run away with his "shade." To mention the name of the newly dead is taboo. If a person accidentally does this he must immediately hit his mouth and spit to cleanse it of the evil. 755
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Names. The names given to the women and men are of three types; the first is the actual name and is given to a person at the Kulama rite; this is an ordinary word such as "honey nest," etc., but it is always in a different language from the ordinary one which is used everyday. The child also receives the name of his father, father's brother or father's sister; this is a traditional name. Then, in the case of a male, come the terms denoting his initiation grade in the Kulama. First stage—*Murakmani*; second stage—*Wadjaneta*; third stage—*Migingartiga*—first song and *Midjintera*—second song; fourth stage—*Mehearterima*—third song; and finally, *Makagala*, which denotes that the man is qualified to conduct a Kulama. Likewise, both sexes have grade names denoting their status in the Pukamane death ritual. Male terms: first stage—*waniati*; second stage—*warunerera*; third stage—*wanereleima*; fourth stage—*wanderara*. With girls and women these names are the same except for the ending denoting the sex. 551

In the case of women there are terms denoting age or condition. *Kudjine*—child; *alinga*—girl; *miriyaleta*—puberty; *murogarbra*—breasts developed; *pira-muruka*—first sign of pregnancy; *paprungala*—pregnant woman; *wanantaka*—woman who has a child dead, and *umparu*—widow. Other terms are *pitukwen*—widower; *mentuygini* and *padrubanga*—boy and girl respectively, whose mother is pregnant; *indjula*—a woman whose breasts have fallen; and as on the mainland, a mother is always called by the sex of the child she carries in her arms: *oriowri* if a boy, *kudjine* if a girl. 551
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Language. The language is peculiar. In many instances, owing to the masculine and feminine endings of the words, the women seem to speak a different language to the men. In addition, another language, or set of words, which is very rarely spoken, seems to obtrude itself. Thus one article will have many names. This is brought about by the strong death-taboo on names; as soon as a native dies, his names and his son's names are taboo and others are substituted. In this way every year new words are coined. Only recently at a Kulama two new ones appeared as a consequence of this taboo. *Purinteriga*, new name for tree, and *alepwa*, new name for coconut. Or a Kulama name may be given as, say, *wilinkurawua*, the meaning of which will be given as honey nest; and yet numerous words for honey are nothing 193
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